

IRISH FELLOWSHIP CLUB
OF CHICAGO

ADDRESS

Senator J. Hamilton Lewis
of Illinois

JUNE 2nd, 1917

HOTEL SHERMAN
CHICAGO

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ADDRESS

Senator J. Hamilton Lewis
OF ILLINOIS

BEFORE THE
IRISH FELLOWSHIP CLUB
OF CHICAGO

JAMES V. O'DONNELL, PRESIDENT
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Chairman O'Donnell: The distinguished gentleman, who will speak to us needs no introduction to the members of the Fellowship Club, nor does he need an introduction to any Chicago audience. I have been trying for the past six or eight weeks—rather, I will amend that and say, we have been trying for the past six or eight weeks, to get in touch with this gentleman, and, fortunately, by accident, we discovered yesterday that he was in the city, and we lost no time in engaging his services, and I desire to say that we owe him a debt of gratitude for being here today, because I know of my own personal knowledge that he cancelled two very important engagements to be with us. He is a fellow-member of ours; he belongs to the Irish Fellowship Club, and there is one good thing about him—he has always been generous with his services to this Club—he is always at our service. There is a bond of friendship between Senator Lewis and this Club! (Applause).

I know that he has the highest personal regard for the Club and its membership. We all know that his time is restricted so far as he is concerned, and it has been difficult to get him for the reason that Senator Lewis today is one of the busiest men in the United States. He is actively engaged, and has been actively engaged in seeing that legislation went through in aid of our President in this critical situation and he is a valuable man in Washington, and one of the most valuable in the Senate. I therefore feel that we are exceedingly fortunate in having him here with us today.

As I said before, he needs no introduction to any Chicago audience. I take great pleasure in presenting our Senator, James Hamilton Lewis! (Applause).

Senator Lewis:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am somewhat bewildered, in view of my knowledge of this Club, that it should choose today for its principal speakers two representatives of famous gas establishments! (Laughter). My brother Cowdery, of the Peoples Gas Light & Coke Company, of Chicago, and myself, for the United States Senate. (Laughter).

I appreciate greatly the flattering introduction of my brother beloved, and long friend of years, your eminent president; but, I am due to be just with you, and to take you fairly into my confidence. I was not invited here. I met my old friend, Judge Hanecy, in the Mid-Day Club and remarked to him that I proposed breaking some engagements being then pressed upon me, because I wanted to come here, to come to see you, to thank you for extending me the invitation you did on March 17th, that I was unable to accept by virtue of having agreed to speak at Philadelphia. I told him that I wanted to renew my acquaintance with old friends, and that I intended to slip in, partake of some food, and shake hands with my old comrades of the Irish Fellowship. The judge communicated, I am sure, this very pleasant desire of mine, and so I am in a position of having invited myself, and accepted myself the invitation. (Laughter).

You remember, you Irishmen, you of poetic turn of soul, of Mangan's exquisite allegory—of the man who went up to the gates of Heaven, being asked by the man guarding the portal: "What are you doing here?" and he replied: "I am here." The guardian of the gate said: "Yes, I see you are here, but who invited you?" The man replied: "I did." "Who told you that you could get in?" And he answered, "I did." "Why, do you think you own Heaven?" and he replied, "Well, when I think of its many kindnesses to me, I think I must." (Laughter).

So, when I remember the many kindnesses this Club has extended to me, and the many honors its members have conferred upon me, I feel that if I didn't own the Club, in view of its many courtesies to me, I feel I must. And, for that reason, I take the liberty to come and tell you the message that came to me. Judge O'Donnell called me on the 'phone and said, "Is this Lewis?" I said, "Yes." "Lewis," he said, "I understand you are in town, and you are going to come over?" I then explained my situation. He said, "It is all right about your engagement; you can come over,

you know, and we want to have you there; we will forget your political differences (laughter); we will overlook your personal mistakes, and, indeed," he said, "the members are so charitable they will excuse how you look." (Laughter). Therefore, you can understand I felt perfectly free to come. (Laughter).

It is late in the afternoon, Mr. Chairman, you have listened to a musical concert by artists who have delighted us with their finesse and exquisiteness of execution; and to an eminent master of finance—of one of the great concerns in this community, who has addressed you; and I recognize that many of you have your engagements and you must leave. I trust you will not feel under any obligation to inconvenience yourself by remaining with me, much as I would like to have you, for I understand the obligation of other duties. But, since I am here, permit me to have a word with you.

I would like you to bear with me while I have a conversation with you about the subject that now seriously concerns your land and the world. How strange, that here in this little assembly, we should on this day be forced to make allusion to those things which, by the prayers the women send to God and the hopes of men, expressed the life dream of all civilization in America, we prayed deliverance from war! But, alas! It was not decreed that we should realize our hope.

You will remember when the king's valet seats himself for a moment, and calls in Richard and says to the knight—"Sit down; come let us sit down and tell the sad story of the death of kings; how some have died; how some have been poisoned in their beds, and others pass with their crowns crumbling—all murdered by the times!" To which the knight says to the valet, "And our house, good servant?" And he responds, "Alas, oh God, it is also in flames!"

So, at this day, whether we will or whether we will not, here is our mansion, lighted up to its eaves with the licking fires which have been consuming all Europe. And we behold in these reflections what must be our course. It is in assemblies like this, if I am permitted to intrude upon them—it is an assemblage like this, ladies and gentlemen, where we reach more closely and understand more seriously the things that touch our personal life, much more so than in the larger assemblage where we meet in force, and serve an occasion by great gatherings, through large assemblies which beat against each other like waves, where little attention is paid except to manner and to form, but little indeed to the expression and sentiment.

I never was so struck in my life with that fact, than when I had occasion to speak in St. James Hall, in London, upon an occasion where I represented this government, two years ago—a year and a half, perchance—at a gathering called to establish uniform laws for safety at sea. I was impressed by the thought that those who came, came rather to see those who would speak, rather than to hear what they would say. It fell to my lot at St. Petersburg to address the remnants of the first duma; and I likewise was impressed there, as I already have upon other occasions, of how audiences assembled there to really see the performers, but hardly to hear the message. But you cannot escape. In assemblies like this, where, at your own inconvenience, you have possibly forsaken your office at the expense of your comfort, you remain here to hear one of your fellow-citizens in a conversation, speak to you the things that are yours, not wholly his.

This country, my fellow-citizens, has not yet been aroused to the fact that it is involved in the greatest tragedy that is now circumscribing this earth. Why, in America, we have not awakened to the fact that this Republic is at war. You do not yet know that the facts of the morrow determine all the after-days for you! You have not yet awakened or aroused yourself to the truth—that the outcome of the thing in which you are mingling now, must mean that you will remain a free spirit of a free republic or dependent for existence subject to European imperial power.

There can be no middle ground, my constituents and friends. Whether you should have this war or not, is closed. That decree has been passed. That judgment has been moulded and the only thing that you can choose is the way that you will accept it, and the thing that you will do in its pursuit. It is to be regretted that the imperial power of Germany, led by the Prussian prince of military despotism, could not have left this great United States exempt from the throes of conflict, apart from the effect of its assaults or from being the victims of murder.

We had never done a wrong to Prussia; we opened our gates to her people; we bade them welcome at our door; we took their children to our bosom; they were nurtured in our schools; they were educated in our colleges; they assisted us on our farms, and, from all over this land, her descendants were welcome as our own fellow-citizens. It did not seem possible that for these and many other blessings, communicated to them and conferred upon them, that their fatherland would turn upon the United States to inflict upon it, as it did, such onslaughts of death and destruction as we were compelled to endure.

The war had sounded in Europe. We were startled here, but we felt secure that it would not reach us. We proposed following a course, that was a neutral course between the combatants. But there was a fate, ever reserved to the United States by virtue of all our past traditions, and the long-settled policy of our Republic, which was that it would pursue its own business in its own way, in the same manner and form as had been its custom and manner without regard to other countries at war—this meant that we would sell our products, dispose of our goods, for our people, according to that spirit of right, and the natural demand—this for America's commercial welfare.

At the outset, the Allies objected to that. They charged that in this enjoyment of our privilege we furnished grain and sustenance to the central powers, which we speak of as the German Imperial Government. The Allies protested and carried their protest to such a degree that England seized our ships, many of them carrying grain, and impressed them in such form that we were compelled to protest to the full extent of our power.

Then, the central powers observed that in our supplies to the Allies, arms, munitions—the result of our factories, the creation of our industries—were being disposed of and these particular agencies were used against the central powers in the execution of war. Imperial Germany leveled its assaults against us by attacking the ships of America, not by seizing them and carrying them into a port and having them condemned—but shot at sight. They never violated any of the international laws to be shot for, or to be expelled from the seas or denied opportunity on the seas of the world. Their innocent occupants were in no wise responsible for whatever the ship did, or from the orders of the country from whence the ship had come—yet were killed without warning.

We endured this in four different instances. We constantly protested through representatives, but the protests, unaccompanied by any form of force, I deplore to say to my fellow-citizens—seemed to have been treated by the Prussian autocracy as a protest that was not seriously meant; as one that came from cowards, because it was accompanied by politeness; as one that was the result of weakness, because it was surrounded by form and gentleness. Then following that came the assaults on the part of the Prussian government, upon every vessel that carried the products of the central west. Finally forty-five had succumbed—three hundred and eighty human beings—Americans—had died. Little children floated with whitened faces upon the seas to parts unknown, to be made the foul food of the animals of the sea; with their mothers beside them, to drop to the depths below; and manly men around them, whose only offense was that they were Americans—were sent to the graves of the watery ocean to be seen thereafter no more—no more by friend or beloved ones. Surely America could not endure that always.

Still she made her protest and announced to the Prussian military government that we could not endure this, and we obtained the announcement from Prussia that she had drawn the circumference around the earth and the water of the sea, and announced to America if it dared to come within this demarked region she would die as a penalty. Prussia then extended her boundaries carrying it further and further until it threatened us with the penalty of having no rights upon the seas of the earth. And it may interest you, in Chicago, to know that it was your products from Chicago; your products of the factories of Chicago, which were the first victims of this cruel decree against the Americans. It was the ships carrying the products of Illinois that were set upon immediately after this; and citizens of Illinois who died—murdered.

It seemed then impossible that this would continue on the part of Prussia. We protested and remonstrated. The answer to this last protest was to have the war lords circumscribe our land with spies. They placed these spies about our factories. These were to inform the proper sources when the factory was to be blown by dynamite to death. They had spies placed around the homes of wealthy men of America, with directions to say when and who should be killed. They had maps drawn of the waterworks of the cities, and of this, my city of Chicago, defining every ramification of it; scheduling every gas company and every gas establishment and every repository of power of life and death. These were chronicled and listed, and to these were added directions of how to strike it and when, and also describing the number of the inhabitants surrounding these establishments who would die by its explosion, and how defenseless they were to oppose it.

When these were discovered, we could not speak to our American country. Our chairman was so kind as to speak of my small part in the affairs of this government. I am one of those admitted to the councils of the President of the United States, and one of those who have control of this government, who may be said to be responsible for having given this information to you. And I speak deliberately, lest I appear unjust to someone in the haste of utterance. I, for myself, felt that those German citizens of my city, who were innocent of these death designs and who would be so shocked if they knew of them, and whose hearts would so rebel—that such a thing had been undertaken—these might become the victims of an aroused anger, to the degree of mob violence; and for that reason I protested to such sources of authority as I was then addressing myself, with whatever influence I carried, against the publicity at that time of these things. But later, we were compelled to give to the Austrian representatives their certificates of dismissal; and we were compelled to tell you in part the reasons. You knew something of the explosions in factories; you knew nothing of the surrounding dangers to the human factors and perils

such as I have just alluded to. You could not have suspected the information borne in upon us by sources so indisputable that they shocked us with horror and agitated us with the danger that caused us sleepless nights. But, notwithstanding all this—this which might have been a lesson to those against assailing us further—there was no let-up. Those mad maniacs of monarchical power seemed incensed to anger beyond description because of our discoveries. We had never wronged a man of theirs in the world. These distant kings seemed to take these considerations of indulgence on our part of our silence and caution as an exhibition of cowardice on the part of America. We were held in every part of the world as lacking courage to resent, and wanting bravery to defend. Every court of Europe was circularized against us in language most contemptible from these eminent princes and lords of war. They circularized us and described us as in terms so unworthy that I could not repeat them without offending my countrymen and wounding my own sense of dignity.

We, of course, could not be blind to this, nor were we ignorant. Yet, as suggested, as all knew, that our Germans at home here could be no party to that. We knew that our German citizens and their friends who believed in their cause, would never have resorted to that. We could not be convinced they could ever have endorsed it by any word or action in the world. We again gave way even to that affront, but again, when our ships and our people were again and again torpedoed, to their death, we could not longer endure it. We threatened—then their reply was six more ships destroyed, upon whose decks twenty-three human beings sent to death. Americans died for no wrong they ever did, nor for an unkind word they ever had spoken against Germany or Austria. In further response, Prussia announced to us that she and Austria would not only resume the war again with its full extent of fury and desolation, but she would take up against us and extend her activities against us at home. There was not a factory in Illinois but what must wither—there was not a commercial establishment in Chicago that must not have its exports cut away—there was not a concern of prosperity in my town that would not proportionately be weakened. We would not endure these central powers closing the sea. Upon our commerce we have survived, upon that we have grown rich, only because of the superiority of our own creation. Yet these outrages, destroying our ships, our cargo and our people continued.

Then it was we again hoped to avoid war. But when we received the communications from the hand of Count Von Bernstorff, representing Prussia, that Germany would continue her assaults and the demand that we abandon the seas—we gave Count von Bernstorff his passports and sent him home. We then declined further associations with the representative of people who would continue to inform us they would continue to murder us.

Yet we still hoped there would still be an end without war. If you do not know that which I now speak, is because you have been busy and too far removed from the scene and trusting to your representatives that they speak fairly to you. We do not believe the great German people of Germany gave countenance to this. The great mass of its people, its humble farmers, tillers of the soil, its toilers in schools, in mills and in factories, would realize the injustice of this. The Prussian princes who seemed to be the power, simply increased the command and ordered further our destruction. We then tried diplomatic negotiations to avoid war. But it was all without avail. Our hope was destined to failure. Our prayers brought no reward. Nothing we could do had encouragement. We were again confronted with that curse of destruction set upon us. For myself, I could understand, and surely did understand, how Prussia might assail a ship going from American waters, carrying the flag of a belligerent, even though it had American goods and American citizens on board—I could see that there might be those of its army or navy who could feel justified from their point of view on the ground that the ship was the ship of an enemy, and I could understand the equity of the claim, though I could not, of course, endorse the killing of my countrymen, under no conditions where they were harmless and innocent. Yet, Prussia, having grown courageous and audacious with her assaults upon us, taking for license that our inaction was at least cowardice, turned her batteries to the ships of the United States, carrying American flags. Outside of the limited seas—ships that were on their way, destined to the ports of Sweden, Denmark and Greece, they bore not one ounce of ammunition, not one pound of contraband, not one individual but whose prayer was for peace and happiness—the men on board praying that they might return to the wives and homes—the sailors, that they might see the shores of America again—the little children romping the decks in their innocence, ignorant in their joyous mood that danger or death was pursuing their little lives. Yet, it was these ships, one after the other, that this Prussian master of murder turned all his weapons of destruction upon and shot to death three more American ships, one after the other, one of which carried some rock, another some lumber, and another carried food for the Austrian poor—sent by the charitable organizations of America. And these murderous assaults sent three hundred human beings—Americans—to their graves in the distant sea, shot to death at midnight without one word of warning—without a word of consolation—without anyone asking for a response as to where they were going or what they had—not one moment to even speak the truth of their justification—but for myself, I shall stand firmly on the were from anything in the world that was a wrong to Prussia or her people.

And then we received the final defiance that against anything that was American—everything that was property—was to be destroyed, if it dared to take the sea, American lives to be murdered

if found on the vessels, regardless of what they were or what mission was theirs. Then, in the face of this, there was but one thing we could do. We were Americans. We must resent. And then it was we declared war.

We declared war upon those who killed our countrymen, without reason, murdered them without excuse—without justification. It is there that you are—you are in war because of those wrongs against your countrymen. I know, my fellow-citizens, that from the President of the United States, and from others in very high authority there comes the expression that we have entered this conflict for democracy. It may be sufficient that there are those who are content to base their action upon that ground of general service to humanity at large. There may be those who are content to rest their course justifiably upon the theory of investing the world with the blessings of democracy, and to indicate our purpose to establish that freedom everywhere. These—wherever they may be—may have that for their object, and may be content to have that alone for their justification—but for myself, I shall stand firmly on the ground that so far as I am concerned, I am warring against Prussia, because without reason or justification, she murdered American citizens without right, against the laws of man and God. Here I am content to stand. Here I shall stand. And that she has sought, and continues to seek, with her military despotism, to rob America of her rights before the earth, and declines to permit America the use of the waters of the world, as ordained by Almighty God, when he ordained that the earth, sea and fruits thereof man should have and enjoy.

I cannot concede to Prussia the right to repeal the law of Almighty God and drive America from the continent of Earth by depriving her of all the enjoyment of the rights of man on earth—the just inheritance from the Kingdom of Heaven. (Applause).

But to my neighbors, I say, I wish all lands well. I would, if it were in my power, strike the shackles of Prussian government from the form of all civilization. But as far as I have it in my power to execute this, I realize I can only hope that in the co-operation of men we may see some day its realization.

I am compelled to come to the threshold of my home, to the doorways of my people, to the gates of my city, to call them to the alarm of where they stand. You have entered upon the greatest military undertaking this Republic ever heard of. In the quiet, silent moments in which you sit, day and night, my neighbors, you do not measure the undertaking you have entered upon. It is at present too far from you. It has not yet reached close enough to you. You remember, my dear Mr. Chairman, and you gentlemen, that splendid Irishman, Leckie, in his observation in his book known as "The History of Europeans Morals"—called attention to that strange conduct of the human being, that there along the Ganges in India, there are thirty thousand human beings daily starving to death, and

we view them at such a distance as simply but a passing matter and it is forgotten. But the fisherman, sitting upon the bank of a stream, will have his attention arrested at the snake swallowing the frog in the water, and will behold it with horror and strike it with his rod, that he might stay the destruction. It was near to him. The other was so distant. He could feel the one that he saw, slight as it was—but he could not even appreciate the other, great as it was.

But, as this conflict nears to you, and as your noble sons are about to enter it, to mobilize in the field, with their knapsacks on their shoulders, and their swords and scabbards by their sides, to take the vow and to follow the flag of their country, 'mid the sound of the fifes and drums, on your streets—you will have realized that which you have not paused to consider—that this is the first war America has ever ordered on foreign soil since we have been founded—barring the Mexican and Cuban wars. Not even have you ventured towards a foreign soil, and across the seas, barring only the conflict upon the water in 1812 fought for the freedom of your commerce, and the Philippines as a part of the war in Cuba in the American seas.

Therefore, gentlemen, what the countries will do is untried for you. These countries with which you now war, either as friends or enemies, have for four hundred years made it their business, in some form or another. There has never been a time when in their hearts there was not a provision being made for contemplated conflict; either one for conquest or to resist one. We alone, of all the world, bade a good-bye to that system, and prayed to God that we should not be called to emulate it. Your fathers bade you take courage and warned you against an establishment of a system of death by war in America. We have had but a slight army, just merely a group to repel invasion, and navy only just enough to protect commerce, because you saw no danger to your government from foreign lands, whose purpose was conquest in war. That was the reason, gentlemen—that was the reason, women, that there was not that so-called preparation in America. It was as late, sir, as 1897, when the great Gladstone, standing on the floor of Parliament, complimented your America upon the isolation she enjoyed from the nations of the world—that exempted her from the necessity to have armies or navies to prepare to move to foreign lands to maintain the dignity of our nation. Little did we dream in how short a time that assurance would prove false. But a few months passed, we may say, we still held to the illusion—but now, here we are, at war with Europe. And now which way?—the military situation in Europe, gentlemen, is in a most serious phase. Let me give you my view:

Within less time than in the sixty days, your soldiers will be mobilized, ready for marching, there will be a separate peace proposed—and maybe made—between Russia and Germany; the gov-

ernments that will come into operation in Russia will be but a step removed from what they are now. Those people in power in Russia will want to make peace with the foe at their doors, not as against you, but without regard to you. Their viewpoint will be, first, that they rose in revolution against the Czar because the Czar had made a Czar's war with another Czar called the Kaiser, and without their will and against their consent. They will say—"How can we continue the war for that against which we rose in revolution to protest?" Germany will be artful enough to appeal to this sentiment and will offer the enticing ground that every request they will make will be granted.

When I was last in Russia, I had occasion to note that the real grievance of the Russians against the Germans was that they had occupied every office of state and every large agency of business. But, the head of the German Empire has but to make the offer to those of Russia in control—assuring them that they will withdraw every German official that ever held an office, and will withdraw every German head of any department of finance or business. And, to this then add the other proposition to give Russia her outlet at Constantinople. This is the first time since we have lived, or in history, where Germany has ever controlled Turkey. It is the only time she could make this offer; it is the only time she would have the ability to execute it.

Then since Russia, for forty years, has been fighting in diplomacy for this one thing, the Russians will say—"Why stay at war?" They will cry out that "the only things for which we warred are being granted. The objectionable Germans being removed"—if he is objectionable—"our gate to the sea being opened, what reason have we longer to continue the contest?" And that argument will be effective with those of the army, of the field, or the navy, of the factory, of the workman, of the Socialist, of the Zemstvos, because it has been the cry by which they have lived, and America must not be startled if the war should cease there completely.

That would mean, therefore, that the German soldiers—the thousands and thousands of them—would be moved from Russia down to the border to war against France or Britain. It would mean that the thousands and thousands of German prisoners held by the Russian powers, will be released and enter into this conflict against our Allies in a manner with which we have not heretofore counted. But if that seems to you a doleful situation, I have a suggestion to offset it. It is, that when this event transpires, Japan must recognize if this shall be a success, that Germany then means to move down through Russia, across the Russian border into Siberia, and on to the East. Japan must realize then that Russia will be friendly to Germany, and that the understanding is complete. And, Japan must realize that Germany will not then lose her chance to punish Japan for driving her out of Shantung—Kia Chow—in China, at the beginning of the war. Japan would realize then that

Russia and Germany, with this understanding, would punish her for fighting Russia. The Japanese armies would turn and move there upon the Germans and Russia, and, for the first time, the Japanese armies would be called into the conflict in Europe out of necessity.

Turkey, beholding this understanding of Germany with Russia, would know that it meant that Germany had surrendered Turkey to Russia. Turkey, realizing this situation, would argue to itself, saying—"What is the use of fighting for Germany—she went into the war upon the theory, of course, she was being protected from Russia. But when Germany and Russia come to an understanding, the only object brought Turkey into the war being denied—further war for Germany would cease to be necessary. It matters not which of the Allies or the central powers would survive—Turkey will see that she is to be sacrificed by her friend Britain, who saved her from Russia in the Crimean war, or Germany, who now surrenders her to Russia.

And America—how will she stand or where will she stand?

With the weakening condition of France and Britain—I deplore to tell you, my judgment is America will stand as the one chief, principal antagonist of the central powers. From America will have to come the money and supplies, the men—and the great burden of this conflict will be upon you. Though you may not have wished it—though you would have avoided it—yet there it is. Only a sudden peace—which I feel is not unlikely—I say this for reasons I cannot utter here—can avoid the war for America as America's distinct conflict.

You, then, men and women, must awake and realize this is your conflict. If America shall fail in this undertaking, the very last ground of freedom and liberty will be taken from the feet of civilization. You of America have remain the vanguard, the ideal, the inspiration to other people in the world who craved liberty and prayed for justice.

Your motherland, sir—Ireland—though she began her fight long before we were ever founded, shall turn her face to America for her inspiration. It was here she found her friends, her succor, her support. And to Irishmen, America has ever turned to find her firm defenders in every encounter. Surely in this room we will not differ about the causes that led us into the conflict—though we may differ as to the controversy between the Allies and the central powers. We only know now that America is at stake, and the only thing before us in this hour is the vow which the great Webster proclaimed upon Bunker Hill, upon the visit of LaFayette, when he said—"At last our creed is our country; our whole country and nothing but our country!" (Applause). But, when this honor is achieved, when this bulwark is obtained, what then? Must America stop? Is that all her duty?

First she looks at home—looks to the patriotism of her own land. Not only you will find enemies abroad, but there will be conflict at our doors. I now warn you that America is in no mood to tolerate that class of individuals who are in America practicing piracy upon existence in this country while our children are at war! And, if the hour shall come upon this country when the food thieves and fuel barons of the land shall through speculation or criminal agencies attempt to impoverish the people of this land, while the soldiers hunger—they will be treated as traitors and be either hanged by the civil law or shot by a court martial for the crime against the United States. (Applause).

I speak for the President and I speak for your Congress, and I speak for your Representatives when I say that there will be no repetition of those scandals, wrongs and outrages upon America as were permitted in the Civil War and duplicated, as you know, in the Spanish-American service. While civil proceedings seem slow and deceiving, I assure you a remedy is being prepared for them by which there will be no more than one offense perpetrated before the eyes of our country. Then, when we have taken care of those things at home, prepared for our boys abroad, what then? When America stands victorious in all places—shall that end it all? For myself, I say it cannot be. For we have started on this course not only for our honor and glory, but to defend the causes and principles of democracy. The theory of free governments, to every man, liberty and justice and the right of self-government. Then America, I pray God, may never present to the earth that contemptible spectacle that when she has obtained her own victory she will cease—I pray she will not present to the earth that confession that she could use those when our cause needed help, but when the opportunity came to help those who helped us she was ungrateful enough to surrender or cowardly enough to betray. I have no fears she can ever do so. There is Hungary—there is Bohemia—there is Poland—and many other of those little lands whose people have craved and prayed and striven and suffered and bled that they might have freedom—that they might govern themselves, that they might enjoy the democracy America knows. Surely, we will give to them whenever possible the enjoyment that is due them and fulfill the promise which from our lives we have so far given them.

As to Ireland—shall I not say here in this place, to men who neither misunderstand me nor would ever misrepresent me—that I know I speak the sentiment of all the administration which in part it is my honor and distinction to represent—when I tell you that the purpose of this administration, so far as it can be now defined and prescribed, is that, first, we move to the common cause of victory against the enemy. That then there shall be the fulfillment to the fullest degree in our power of those promises to all which we have made in behalf of those lands whose oppressed conditions have ever been the object of our solicitude, and whose

miseries and cries have ever been the very theme of our promises of refuge and deliverance.

Irishmen are indeed to recognize that in the heart of the President of the United States—be he of whatever political party—in the soul of the chief executive and representatives of government; of all political parties—that now there is that feeling which has heretofore animated them—the sense that shall always animate them—the same noble desire that has always availed them. No. There can never be a time when America must not remember that whether it was Stonewall Jackson or Cleburne of the South or Phil Sheridan or Kearney of the North, that in every conflict where America had liberty to preserve, it was Irishmen who gave their lives and never hesitated to lay down all they had to preserve it. All this from the Revolutionary to the Civil War! From the Civil War to the Spanish-American War! For America—thousands of your people, Irishmen, who have never been given a chance to fight for their own country, as a country, have ever laid their lives down for every country in the needed day, to the call of duty! Surely, no man living can doubt what America can do at such an hour! There could be no doubt as to what America could do! The representatives of America in power could not be divided or neglectful about it.

And I have to tell you now I recognize the rights of Ireland—as I do any of these other countries wherever they are—to have self-government of its own institutions. This is not only home rule—it is the policy of democracy by Ireland, for Ireland, through Ireland, that is in the heart of the President, and is the desire of all public representatives, and is the intention of America to secure, if possible, by any action within her power. (Applause).

I have a word: I regret I spoke so long. I did not note how the time flies. I have had so little time to see my own people, so few have been my opportunities that while I have held this hope, I fear I have fatigued you, though it is because I have not seen you for so long. (Voices—"Go on—we'll stay with you.")

Let me conclude: I have, for myself, ladies and gentlemen, no doubt that the final outcome of this conflict will be all that you could desire. Irishmen—there may be some differences between you and your fellows as to the methods of establishing self-government in your motherland, but as soon as you become reconciled among yourselves, your destiny will be clear. The citizens of America that are not Irish, and do not understand your problems,—they must not assume to solve your questions over your heads. I have every confidence that when the time arrives when the peace propositions are made, in which America shall participate—and the final disposition of these conflicts come to the table, I know that the eminent leading Irishmen of this country will be called by the representatives of this administration to the table, to voice the facts of

their country, and what shall be justice to their country in this era. I have every confidence your voice will be heard and that which you regard best will be done.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have in this conversation brought nearer to you the condition of our land. I ask now that you get near and give vow to move out to the single purpose of serving this, our country, to her glory and to her victory—to the achievement not only of the ideals of democracy, but the justification of this Republic. As I depart from you with my grateful thanks, may I have a call to you that we can acknowledge with her, our Illinois,—the state of Illinois,—the one Illinoisan who sent to the world the first lessons of the real democracy. We will recall that when the elder Brutus was visited by the spirits who said to him: “Who shall first kiss their mother shall be kings of the earth.” He, presuming to misunderstand, dropped down to the ground and kissed the earth beneath him, to demonstrate that it was the earth that was the mother of us all.

So, on this day, my fellow Americans, may I make the application? At this hour at our feet is our United States. This earth we again kiss with devotion—we revive to memory every sacrifice made, every noble undertaking she has entered upon, and repeat her glorious achievements on the earth. We pay tribute to the splendor of her women, the nobility of her men,—and in this hour we consecrate her again and dedicate our every undertaking to her success and every sacrifice to her glory, in whatever cause she shall enter. All this for that we have borne in upon us the solemn fact that the hour is really upon us, when before the world we must vindicate the dream of the great Lincoln, of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, that shall not perish from the earth!

I thank you. (Extended applause).

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen: I am sure you have been charmed by the eloquent address that you have just heard. It certainly has given us food for thought. There have been many side lights thrown on the war situation by the distinguished Senator which we, as citizens, were not cognizant of, and of which, if we were cognizant, we have not been paying sufficient attention to. I am sure I express the sentiment of all here when I say that Senator Lewis never needs a formal invitation to the Irish Fellowship Club—he has a standing invitation, and we are always pleased to hear him and have him with us.

The program will conclude with the National Anthem

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